tion. I beg leave now to state that it is ent'r an unfounded supposition, that the doc-trin of non-interference in foreign matters had been, to the people of the United States, by your great Washington, bequeathed to be nstitutional principle to you No: that is not the case.

ed non-interference, or indifference to the fate of other nations, to you. He has only recommended neutrality; and there is a mighty dif

erence between these two ideas.

Neutrality is an idea which has reference to state of war between two belligerent powers: nd it is this case which Washington contem plated when he, in his Farewell Address, advised the people of the United States not to enter into entangling alliances. Let quarrelling powers—let quarrelling nations war: you consider your own concerns, and let foreign pow-ers quarrel about ambitious topics, or scanty, part cular interests. Neutrality is a matter of

convenience, not of principle.

But even as neutrality has reference to a state of war between belligerent powers, the principle of non-interference has, on the contrary, reference to the sovereign right of na tions to dispose of their own domestic concerns.

Therefore these two ideas of neutrality and non-interference are two entirely different ideas, having reference to two entirely different

The sovereign right of whatever nation to dispose of itself, to alter its institutions, to change the form of its own Government, is a common public law of nations, common to all, and, therefore, put under the common guar-

This sovereign right of every nation to dispose of itself, you, the people of the United States, must recognise, because it is a common law of mankind in which, being a common law of mankind, every nation is equally interested. You must recognise it, secondly, because the very existence of your great Republic as also the independence of every nation, rests upon this basis—rests upon this ground. If that sovereign right of nations were no common public law of mankind, then your own independent of the control of the dent existence would be no matter of right, but only a matter of fact, which might be subower and of violence.

And where is the citizen of the United States

who would not feel revolted against the idea, that the existence of this great Republic is not a righteous nor a lawful one, but only a mere secident, a mere matter of fact?

Interference of foreign powers in the contest for independence of the Spanish colonies, was declared softiered motive for the United States with the full sentiment of its responsibility, declares to your Congress to be a ruling by the protection of God cannot, without protect the natural right or another to be invoked but in begins to justice the interference of foreign powers in the contest for independence of the Spanish colonies, was declared softiered to justice the full sentiment of its responsibility, declares to your Congress to be a ruling by the protection of God cannot, without protect the natural right or another to the natural right of the sentence of foreign powers in the contest for independence of the Spanish colonies, was declared to your Congress to be a ruling by declares to your Congress to be a ruling by the natural right of the natural right of the sentence of the Spanish colonies, was declared to your Congress to be a ruling by declares to your Congress manity, upon which is founded your own inde-

pendence—your own existence.

Now, gentlemen, if these be principles of common law, of that law which God has given to all, and to every nation of humanity-if the faculty to dispose of itself is the common, law-ful right of every nation, then the interference with this common law of all humanity, the violent act of hindering, by armed forces, a nation from exercising that sovereign right, must be considered as a violation of that common public law upon which your very exist-ence rests, and which, being a common law of all humanity, is, by God himself, placed under the safeguard of all humanity; because it is God himself who commands us to love our neighbors as we love ourselves, and to do toward others as we desire others to do toward

Upon this point you cannot remain indifferent. You may we'll remain neutral to every war between two belligerent nations, but you cannot remain indifferent to the violation of the common law of humanity. That indifference Washington has never taught you. I defy any man to show me out of the eleven volumes of Washington's writings, a single word to that effect. He recommended neutrality in the case of foreign wars; but he never recommended in-

was, because there is, without justice, no wisdom on earth. He could not have recommended it without becoming inconsistent, because it was this common law of mankind which your forefathers invoked, before God and mankind when they proclaimed your independence.
[Cheers.] It is he himself, your great Washington, who not only accepted, but asked, again and again, foreign aid—foreign help for the support of that common law of mankind, in respect to your independence. [Immense applause.]
Knowledge and instruction are so universally

spread amongst the enlightened people of the United States, the history of your country is such a household science at the most lonely hearths of your remotest settlements, that i may be sufficient for me to refer, in that respect, to the instructions and correspondence between Washington and the Minister at Paris—the equally immortal Franklin [cheers]-the modest man, with the proud epitaph which tells the world that he wrested the lightning from Heaven, and the sceptre from the tyrants' hands.

[Cheers.]
This I have proved, I believe that Washington never bequeathed to you the principle of non-interference against the violation of the sovereign rights of nations to dispose of themselves, and to regulate their own institutions; but he taught you only neutrality in respect to the wars of foreign nations. [Good.]
I will go further. And I state that even

that doctrine of neutrality he taught and bequeathed to you, not as a constitutional prin-ciple—a lasting regulation for all future time, but only as a matter of temporary policy. I refer in that respect to the very words of his Farewell Address. There he states explicitly, that "it is your policy to steer clear of permanent These are his very words. Policy is the word, and you know policy is not the science of principles, but of exigencies; and that principles are of course, by a free and powerful nation, never to be sacrificed to exigencies. [Cheers.] The exigencies are passing away, like the bubbles of a raise, but the bubbles of a rain : but the nation is immortal ; it must consider the future also, and not only the egotistical comfort of the passing hour. It be aware that to an immortal nation, nothing can be of higher importance than immortal principles
I will go yet further; and state that even this

policy of neutrality Washington taught you, not as a permanent rule, but as a temporary

I prove it, again, by referring to the very words of his Farewell Address, when he, in reference to his policy of neutrality, explicitly says, that "with him. (Washington,) a predomination of the control of the contr nant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to your country to settle and mature its institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it the command of its own fortunes. [Applause.]
These are highly memorable words, gentle-

men. Here I take my ground; and casting a glance of admiration over your glorious land, I confidently ask you, gentlemen, are your insti-tutions settled and matured, or are they not? Are you, or are you not, come to that degree of strength and consistency to be the masters of your own fortunes?
Oh, my God! how I thank thee for having

given me the glorious view of this country's greatness, which answers this question for me! Immense cheering. Yes! you have attained that degree—of

Yes! you have attained that degree—of strength and consistency, when your less fortunate brethren in mankind may well claim your brotherly, protecting hand.

And here I stand before you—to plead the cause of these, your less fortunate brethren—the cause of humanity. I may succeed, or I may fail. But I will go on pleading with that faith of martyrs, by which mountains were moved; and I may displease you, perhaps; still I will say with Luther. "May God help me—I can do no otherwise." [Tremendous cheers.]

One word more to prove that Washington never attached to his doctrine of neutrality more than the sense of temporary policy. I

erime, cursed ambition, despotism, and violence, in a more wicked manner, united to crush down freedom, and the very life, than against Hungary. [Cheers.] Never was a country more mortally offended than Hungary is. Al your sufferings—all your complaints, which with so much right, drove your forefathers to take up arms, are but slight grievances in comparison with those immense, deep wounds our of which the heart of Hungary bleeds! If the cause of my people is not sufficiently just to insure the protection of God, and the support of good-willing men, then there is no just cause, and no justice on earth [Cheers. Then the blood of no new Abel will move to wards Heaven. The genius of charity. Christian ove, and justice, will mournfully fly the earth a heavy curse will upon morality fall-oppressed men despair, and only the Cains of humanity walk proudly, with impious hrow, about the ruins of Liberty on Earth! [Nine cheers.] I have shown, gentlemen, that Washington has never bequeathed to his country the doc-

ine of not caring about the violation of interational law-has not bequeathed the doctrinof indifferentism to his countrymen, but only neutrality. I have shown that these two ideas are essentially different. I have shown that ven the doctrine of neutrality he never intended recommend to his countrymen as a lasting constitutional principle, but only as a measure of temporary policy, advisable until the United States should progress in strength and con-sistency, to which end he judged twenty years to be sufficient—after which, he, himself, declared to be resolved to espouse any just cause. Now, allow me briefly to consider how your policy has been developed in the course of tim with respect to the principle of non-intervention

in foreign concerns.

I will only recall to your memory the mes sage of President Monroe, when he clearly stated that the United States would take up arms to protect the American Spanish colonie now free Republies, should the so-called Holy (rather unholy) [cheers] Alliance make an atempt either to aid Spain to reduce the new American Republics to their ancient colonial state, or to compel them to adopt political systems more conformable to the policy and views of that Alliance. I entreat you to mark well, gentlemen, not only the forced introduction of ionarchical Governments, but in general the interference of foreign powers in the contest for

the United States, but that Great Britain her self joined the United States in the declaration of this decision and this policy. [Applause.] I further recall to your memory the instruc-tions given in 1826 to your Envoys to the Congress of Panama, Richard Anderson and John Sergeant, where it is clearly stated that the United States would have opposed, with their whole force, the interference of continental powers with that struggle for independence.

It is true that this declaration to go even to war, to protect the independence of foreign States against foreign interference, was not only restricted to the continent of America, but President Monroe declares in his message that the United States can have no concern in European struggles, being distant and separaed from Europe by the great Atlantic ocean.
But I beg leave to remark that this indifference to European concerns is again a matter not of principle, but of temporary exigency, the motives of which have, by the lapse of time, entirely disappeared, so much that the balance

even turned to the opposite side. President Monroe mentions distance as a motive of the above-stated distinction. Well, since the prodigious development of your Fulton's glorious invention, distance is blotted out difference to the violation of the common laws of the dictionary, or rather replaced by the of humanity, by interference of foreign powers with the sovereign right of nations to dispose of calculated by miles, but by hours; and, being calculated by miles, but by hours; and, being shown, not theoretically, but practically, that times—hatred—be more efficient in the description of the commerce begins and European so, Europe is of course less distant from you it is a mistake to think that you had, at whatthan the greater part of the American nent. But, let even the word distance be taken in a nominal sense, Europe is nearer to you than the greater part of the American conti nent; yea, even nearer than perhaps some parts of your own territory. [Applause.] President Monroe's second motive is, that you are separated from Europe by the Atlantic.

Now, at the present time, and in the present condition of navigation, the Atlantic is no separation, but rather a connecting benefit— the facilitating source of that commercial in-tercourse which brings the interest of Europe home to you, connecting you with it with every tie of moral as well as material interest. It is chiefly in New York that I feel induced to speak so, because New York is by innumerable ties connected with Europe—more connected than several parts of Europe itself.

It is the agricultural interest of this great ountry which chiefly wants an outlet and a market. Now, it is far more Europe than the American continent to which you have to look in that respect. This very circumstance can-not allow you to remain indifferent to the fate of freedom on the European continent, because. be sure, gentlemen—and let me have spoken this chiefly to the gentlemen of trade—should Absolutism gain ground in Europe, it will, it must, make every possible obstacle to the com-mercial intercourse of republican America, be-cause commercial intercourse is the most powerful locomotive of principles; and be sure the victory of Absolutism on the European continent will in no quarter have more injurious national consequences than in the vast extent of your agricultural and commercial interests.

Then, why not prevent it while yet there is a possibility to do so with none, or comparative small sacrifices, rather than to abide that fatal catastrophe, and to mourn the immense sacrifices it would then cost? Even in political considerations now-a-days

you have stronger motives to feel interested in the fate of Europe than even in the fate of the Central or Southern parts of America. Whatever may happen in the institutions of these parts, you are too powerful to see your own intitutions affected by it. But let Europe become absolutistical—as without the restoration of Hungary to its independence, and the freedom of Italy, so strongly connected with Hun-gary, to be sure it will—and your children will see those words which your National Govern-ment spoke in 1827 fulfilled on a larger scale than they were meant, that "the absolutism of Europe will not be appeased until every vestige of human freedom had been obliterated even here."

And oh! do not rely too fondly upon your power. It is great, to be sure. You have not to fear whatever single power on earth; but look to history. Ancient Rome has fallen, and mighty empires have vanished from earth. Let not the enemies of freedom grow too strong. Victorious over Europe, and then united, they would be too strong even for you; and, be sure, they hate you with an infernal hatred. [Yes. yes.] They must hate you even more than me They consider you as their most dangerous op-ponents. Absolutism cannot tranquilly sleep while the republican principle has such a mighty representative as your country is. [Sen-

Yes, gentlemen, it was the fear from the po-litical reaction of absolutistic principles which induced your great statesmen not to extend that principle which they professed for Central and Southern America to Europe, and by no means the public-avowed feeble motives. Every manifestation of your public life, out of those times, shows that I am right to say so. Europe's nations were, about 1823, in such a degraded situation that indeed you must have felt anxious not to come into any political contact with that pestilential atmosphere of Europe, when, as Mr. Clay said in 1818, in his speech about the emancipation of South America, "Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg."

the cause of humanity. I may succeed, or I may fail. But I will go on, pleading with that faith of martyrs, by which mountains were moved; and I may displease you perhaps; still I will say with Luther. "May God help me—I can do no otherwise." [Tremendous cheers.]

One word more to prove that Washington never attached to his doctrine of neutrality more than the sense of temporary policy. I refer to one of his letters, written to Lafayette, wherein he says: "Let us only have twenty years of peace, and our country will come to such a degree of power and wealth that we will be able, in a just cause, to defy whatever power on earth."

"In a just cause!" Now, in the name of the eternal truth, and by all that is sacred and dear to man, since the history of mankind is recorded, there has been no cause more just a specific to St. Petersburg." [Laughter and shouts.]

"Laughter and shouts.]

But scarcely has, within a year later, the Greek nation come in its contest to an important standing, which gave you hope that the spirit of freedom is waking again, and at once you abandoned your principle of political indifference for Europe. You know how your Clays and your Websters spoke, as if really they were speaking for my very case. You know how your citizens acted in behalf of that strongle for liberty in that part of Europe which is more distant than Hungary; and again, when Poland fell, you know what spirit pervaded the United States. [It still lives]

So I have shown you how Washington's doctrine of perfect neutrality in your foreign relations has, by and by, changed into the declaration to oppose, with all your forces, absolutis-

rope. I have shown you the further differences between your present convenience and that of the time of President Monroe—not less important than those between Monroe's and Washington's time. But one mighty difference I must still commemorate. That is, that your population has since Monroe's time nearly doubled, I believe—at least, increased by millions. And what sort of men are these millions. And what sort of men are these millions. Are they only native-born Americans? No. European emigrants they are; men who, though citizens of the United States, are by the most sacred ties of relationship attached to Europe's fate. That is a consideration worthy of the reflection of your calmest and wisest men, who, after calm reflection, must agree with me, that in your present condition you are at least as much interested in the fate of Europe, as your fathers twenty-eight years ago declared themselves interested in the fate of Central and Southern America.

proves that it is so. Your general interference with the Turkish captivity of the Governor of Hungary proves it also. And this development, rather than change in your foreign policy, is not even more an instinctive challition of public opinion, which is called by and by to impart cy; the direction is already imparted, and the punion of the people is already an arowed rinciple of the policy of the Government.

I have as good I have a most decisive authority to rely upon in saying so. It is the message of the President of the United States, his Excellency Millard Fillmore, communicated to the Congress a few days ago; there I read the paragraph. "The deep interest which we feel in the spread of fiberal principles, and the establishspread of theeral principles, and the establish-ment of free Governments, and the sympathy-with which we witnessevery struggle against op-pression, forbid that we should be indifferent to a case in which the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment and repress the spirit of freedom in any country." [Cheers.] Now, gentlemen, here is the ground which I take for my earnest endeavors to benefit the cause of Hungary. I have only respectfully to ask the principle which the public opinion of the people of the United States so resolutely respected to the Government of the living the control of the Covernment of the United States and the Government of the United States and the Government of the United States and the Covernment of the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States and the United States are under the United States are u professes, and the Government of the United

opinion, that what the people of the United States, and its National Government, in such a solemn diplomatic manner, profess to be a ruling principle of your policy, should not be meant to be but a joke about the most sacred interests of humanity. [Laughter.] God for-bid that I should feel the impertinent arrogance to think so! therefore I take the principle of your policy as I find it established, without any interference; and I come in the name of oppressed humanity to claim the natural, logical, unavoidable, practical consequences of your own freely chosen Government policy, which you have avowed to the whole world—the right to claim the realization of those expressions which your sovereign people of the United States have chosen, out of your own accord to raise in the bosom of my countrymen and of oppressed humanity.
You will excuse me gentlemen, for having

dwelt so long about that principle of non-interference with European measures, but I have found this rock thrown in my way when I spoke of what I humbly request from the United States. I have been charged to have the arrostates. I have been charged to have the arrogance to change your existing policy, and as in one speech I of course cannot exhaust the whole mighty complex of my mission, I choose for the present opportunity to develope my views about that fundamental principle of not caring about European concerns; and having shown, not theoretically, but practically, that it is a mistake to think that you had at what are the arrogance resolved with all its power to espouse the cause of your independence? [Cheers.] But, perhaps, I will be told that France did this not out of love of freedom, but out of hatred against England. Well, let it be; but let me also ask, shall the cause of olden times—hatred—be more efficient in the destance of marking the properties. should you ever have entertained such a policy, you had abandoned it, and were forced by circumstances to abandon it. So much, at least, I hoped to have achieved. My huble requests to your operative sympathy may be still opposed by I don't know what other motives; but that objection I will never more meet—not to interfere with European concerns—this objection is disposed of, and forever, I hope. [Tremendous cheering.]

It remains now to investigate, that having professed not to be indifferent to the cause of

European freedom, is the cause of Hungary such as to have just claims to your active and operative assistance and support? It is, gentle-men. To prove this, I do not now intend to enter into an explanation of the particulars of our struggle, which I had the honor to direct, as the chosen Chief Magistrate of my native land—it is highly gratifying to me to see the cause of Hungary is—excepting some ridiculous misrepresentations of ill-will—correctly understood here. [Aye, aye.] I will only state one fact, and that is, that our endeavorings for independence were crushed down by the armed interference of a foreign despotic power—the principle of all evil on earth—Russia. And stating this fact, I will not again intrude upon you with my own views, but recall to your memyou with my own views, but recall to your memory the doctrines established by your own statesmen. Firstly, again I return to your great Washington. He says, in one of his letters to Lafayette, "My politics are plain and simple; I think every nation has a right to establish that form of government under which it conceives it can live most happy, and that no Government ought to interfere with the interval

ceives it can live most happy, and that no Government ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another." [Cheers.]

Here I take my ground—I take my ground upon a principle of Washington—a principle, and no doctrine of temporary policy, calculated for the first twenty years of your infancy. Russia has interfered with the internal concerns of Hungary, and by doing so has violated the policies of the United States established as a lasting principle—I would invoke in my subport the opinion of every statesman of the United States, of every party, of every time—but to save time I come from the first President of the United States at once to the last, and recall to your memory this word of the present call to your memory this word of the present annual message of his Excellency President Fillmore: "Let every people choose for itself, and make and alter its political institutions to suit its own condition and convenience.

suit its own condition and convenience."
[Cheers.]

Here again I take my ground upon this principle established by Washington—making the basis of your own existence, and professed and acknowledged by your very present Government, only to show that I am aware of the policy and political opinion of your present Government also. I beg leave to quote your present Secretary of State, Mr. Webster's statement, who in his speech on the Greek question. ment, who, in his speech on the Greek question, speaks so—"The law of nations maintains that in extreme cases resistance is lawful, and that one nation has no right to interfere in the af-

one nation has no right to interfere in the affairs of another." [Cheers.]

Well, that precisely is the ground upon which we Hungarians stand. But I may perhaps meet the objection—I am sorry to say I have met it already—"Well, we own that it has been violated by Russia in the case of Hungary, but, after all, what is Hungary to us? Let every people take care of itself, what is that to us?" So some speak; it is the old doctrine of private egotism, "Every one for himself, and God for us all." [Laughter.] I will answer the objection, not by my own humble views, but again by the words of Mr. Webster, who in his allusion to speech on the Greek question, having professed the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of its own concerns to be a law of nations, thus is going on:
"But it may be asked, what is all that to us? The question is easily answered. We are one The question is easily answered. We are one of the nations, and we as a nation have precisely the same interest in international law as a

private individual has in the laws of his country." [Immense applause.]
You see, gentlemen, I had again a good authority to quote. The principle which your honorable Secretary of War professes, is a principle of eternal truth. No man can disavow it, no political party can disavow it. Thus I am in the happy condition to address my humble prayers, in that respect, not to a party, but to the whole People of the United States, which I will go on to do so long as I have no

than the cause of Hungary! never was there a people, without the slightest reason, more sacrilegiously, more treacherously, and by fouler means, attacked, than Hungary! Never has crime, cursed ambition, despotism, and violence. I have shown you the further differences rope. I have shown you the further differences and that of interfers in the origin Power has a right to proper with the independence of central and southern America. I have shown you why this manly resolution was not extended then to Eucrego right; we acknowledge it to be a law of nations that no foreign Power has a right to interfers in the origin Power has a right to ereign right; we acknowledge it to be a law of nations that ne foreign Power has a right to interfere in the affairs of another, and we are determined to respect this common law of man-kind; but if others do not respect that law, it is not our business to meddle with them." Let me answer by an analysis: "Every nation has some interest in the international career, as a private individual has in the laws of his counprivate individual has in the laws of his country." This is an acknowlenged principle of the United States. Consequently, every nation is, in respect to international law, precisely in the same condition as a private individual is in respect to the laws of his country. [Cheers.] Well, what is the condition of a private individual in respect to the laws of his country? Is it only that he has himself not to violate the law? or is it that so far as is in his power he should also prevent others to violate the law? should also prevent others to violate the law Suppose you see that a wicked man is about to And really so it is. The unexampled immense predigious sympathy for the cause of my country which I meet with in the United States. er. I sympathize with him; but I am not obliged to help him that he may not be robbed, murdered, or burnt." What honest man of the world would answer so. None of you [Shouts of "No, no, no."]
None of the People of the United States. am sure. That would be the damned maxim of the Pharisees of old, who thanked God that they were not as others were. Our Saviour

was not content not to go himself trading in the hall of the temple, but he had driven out those who were trading there. [Cheers] Now, what the duty of an individual is in respect to the laws of his country, the same duty has a nation in respect to international law. The duty has no other limit, but only the power

Of course, it cannot be expected that the Re-public of St. Marino or the Prince of Morocco should stop the Czar of Russia in his ambitious annoyance. It was ridiculous, when the Prince of Modena refused to recognise the Government of Louis Philippe-but "to whom much is given, will much be expected from him," says the Lord. [Cheers.] And every condition has not only is rights, but also its own desires; and any which is in the condition to be a power on earth has the duty to consider himself as a part of the executive power of mankind, called to maintain the law of nations. Woe, a thousand-fold, woe to humanity, should there be nobody

Woe to humanity, if every despot of the world may dare to trample down the laws of humani-ty, and no frie nation arises to make respected these laws. [Applause ] People of the United States, humanity ex-

pects that your glorious Republic will prove to the world that republics are formed on virtue it expects to be you the guardians of the laws of humanity. Well, I will come to the last possible objection. I may be told, "You are right in your principles, your cause is just, and you have our sympathy; but, after all, we cannot go to war for your country; we cannot furnish you armies and fleets; we cannot fight your battle for yot. There is the rub. [Cheers.] Who can exactly tell what would have been the issue of your own struggle for Independence, though four country was in a far hap-pier geographical position than we, poor Hun-garians, should France have given such an answer to your forefathers in 1778 and 1781, instead of sending to your aid a fleet of thirty-sight men-of-war, and auxiliary troops, and 24,000 muskets, and a loan of nineteen millions. And when I take far more than all this, does it Perhaps I will be told that Europe is far from America. But let me ask, is America, in the days of steam navigation, more distant to Europe to-day than France was to America seventy-three years ago? However, I must solemnly declare that it is not my intention to wish to entangle the United States in war, or to engage your great people to send out armies and fleets to ristore Hungary to its sovereign independence. Not at all, gentlemen; I most solemnly declare that I have never entertained such expectations, such hopes, and I here come

to the practical point. [Tremendous cheers.]

The principle of evil in Europe is the enervating spirit of Russian absolutism. It is upon this rests the daring boldness of every petty tyrant to tranple upon oppressed nations, and to crush down liberty. To this Moloch of am-bition has falen a victim my poor native land. It is this with which Montalembert threatens my poor native land. It is this with which Monnbert threatens the French Republicans It is Russian intervention in Hungary which governed French intervention in Rome, and gave the temerity to German tyrants to crush down all the endeavors for freedom and unity

in Germany.

The despos of the European continent are leagued against the freedom of the world. That is a metter of fact. The second matter of fact is, that the European continent is on the eve of a nev revolution. It is not necessary to be initiated in the secret preparations of the Europeas democracy to be aware of that approaching contingency. It is pointed out by the French constitution itself prescribing a new Presidential election for the next spring. Now, suppose that the ambition of Louis Napo-leon, encoursged by Russian secret aid, awaits his time, (which I scarcely believe,) and suppose that there will be a peaceful solution, such as would make contended the friends of the Re-public in France, of course the first act of the new French President must be, at least, to recall the French troops from Rome. Nobody can doubt that a revolution will follow, if not precede, this recall in Italy. Or, if there is no peaceful solution in France, but a revolution, then every man knows that whenever the heart of France bils up, the pulsation is felt throughout Europe and oppressed nations once more rise, and Russia again interferes. Now, I humbly ask, with the view of these circum-stances before my eyes, can it be convenient to such a great power as this glorious Republic, stances before my eyes, can it be convenient to such a great power as this glorious Republic, to await the very outbreak, and then only to discuss and decide what direction you will be willing to take in your foreign policy? It may come again, as under the late President, at a late hour, when agents were sent to see how matters stood in Hungary. Russian interference and treason achieved what the sacrile-glous Hapsburg dynasty failed to achieve. You know the old words, "While Rome debated, Saguntum fell." So I respectfully entreat the people of the United States, in time, to express its will as to what course it wishes to be pursued by its National Government in the case of the approaching events I have mentioned. And I most confidently hope that there is only one course possible, consistent with the above recorded principles. If you acknowledge the right of every nation to alter its institutions and Government to be a law of nations—if you acknowledge the interference of foreign powers in that sovereign right to be a violation of the law of nations, as you really do—if you are forbidder to remain indifferent to this violation of international law, as your President openly professes that you are—then there is no other course possible than not to interfere in that sovereign right of nations, but also not to admit whatever other powers to interfere.

source possible than not to interfere in that sovereign right of nations, but also not to admit whatever other powers to interfere. But you will, perhaps, object to me, that is so much as to go to war. I answer, no; that is so much as to prevent war. What is wanted to effect? It is wanted, that being aware of to effect? It is wanted, that being aware of the precarious condition of Europe, your National Government should so soon as possible send instructions to your Minister at London, to declare to the English Government that the United States, acknowledging the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic concerns, have resolved not to interfere, but also not let to interfere whatever foreign power with this sovereign right, in order to vow it, no political party can disavow it. Thus I am in the happy condition to address my humble prayers, in that respect, not to a party, but to the whole People of the United States, which I will go on to do so long as I have no reason to contemplate a party opposite or indifferent to my country's cause, because else of course I would have to address those who are friends, and not those who are either indifferent.

If the citizens of the United States, instead of honoring me with the offers of their hospi-tality, would be pleased to express their will, by passing convenient resolutions, and ratify-ing them to their National Government—if the Independent press would hasten to express the public opinion in a similar sense—if, in conse-quence of this, the National Government would instruct its Minister in England accordingly nstruct its Minister in England accordingly, and by a convenient communication to the Congress give, so as it is wont to do, publicity to this step, I am entirely sure that you would find the people of Great Britain heartily joining this direction of policy. Nobody in the world could feel especially offended by it, and no existing relation would be broken or in-jured, and still the interference of Russia in the restoration of Hungary to its independence (formerly declared in 1849) prevented, Rus (formerly declared in 1849) prevented, Russian arrogance and preponderance checked, and the oppressed nations of Europe soon become free. There may be some over-anxious men, who perhaps would say, "But if such a declaration of your Government will not be respected, and Russia still does interfere, then you would be obliged by this previous declaration to go to war, and you don't desire to have That objection seems to me like somebody would say: "If the vault of heaven breaks down, what will we do?" My answer is, "But it will not break down;" even so I answer—but your declaration will be respect-ed—Russia will not interfere—you will have no ed—Russia will not interfere—you will have no occasion for war, you will have prevented war. Be sure Russia would twice, thrice consider to provoke against itself, besides the roused jury of nations—besides the legions of Republican France, also the English Lion, and the star-surrounded Eagle of America. Please to consider the fact, that you, united to England, have made already such a declaration, not to admit any interference of the European Absolutistical powers, into the affairs of the formerly Spanish colonies of America, and has this declaration brought you to war? Onite the conaration brought you to war? Quite the contrary; it has prevented war—so it would be in our case also. Let me, therefore, most humbly entreat you, gentlemen—let me entreat you on this occasion by means of publicity—the peo-ple of the United States, to be pleased to give such practical direction to its generous sympathy for Hungary, as to arrange meetings, and pass such resolutions here and there, and in every possible place of this great Union, as I took the liberty to mention above. Why not do so? I beg leave to reiterate what I had the honor to say yesterday to a committee of Balti-more. Suppose there should in Cuba a revolution occur, a revolution from the inhabitants of Cuba themselves, and whatever European power should send down a fleet to support Span aguine vine rections ......

Then, what is the difference between this supposed case and the case of Hungary? Is there a difference in principle? No. Then what? The difference is, that Cuba is at six days' distance from New York, on the part of Hungary, Fiume, at eighteen days' distance. That is all, and who would affirm that the policy of such a great, free, and glorious nation as the United States shall be regulated by hours, and not by principles? Allow me to remark that there is an immense truth in that which the French an immense truth in that which the French Legation in the United States expressed to your Government, in the able note of 27th October past, which I beg leave to quote: "America is closely connected with Europe, beingly only separated from the latter by a distance of scarcely exceeding eight days journey, by one of the most important of general interests—the interest of commerce. The nations of America and Europe are at this day so dependent upon one another, that the effects of any event, presserous or otherwise happening on one prosperous or otherwise, happening on one side of the Atlantic, are immediately felt on the other side. The result of this community the other side. The result of this community of interests, commercial, political, and moral, between Europe and America—of this frequency and rapidity of intercourse between them, is, that it becomes as difficult to point out the geographical degree where American policy shall terminate, and European policy begins, as it is to trace out the line where begins, as it is to trace out the ascendant in Europe and America?" The second measure which I beg leave to mention has reference to commercial interests. There has, in latter times, a doctrine stolen into the has, in latter times, a doctrine stolen into the code of international law, which is even as contrary to the commercial interests of nations as to their independence. The pettiest despot of the world has the faculty to exclude your commerce from whatever port it pleases to do so. He has only to arrange a blockade, and your commerce is shut out; or, if down-trodden Venice, bleeding Lombardy, or my down-oppressed but resolute Hungary, rises to shake off the Austrian tyrant's yoke, as surely they will, that tyrant believes to have the right, from the very moment, to exclude your comfrom the very moment, to exclude your com-merce with the risen nations. Now, this is an absurdity—a tyrannical in-

Now, this is an absurdity—a tyrannical vention of tyrants, violating your interest—your own sovereign independence. The United States have not always regarded things from this point of view. I find in a note of Mr. Everett, Minister of the United States in Spain, detail "Madrid January 20, 1826," these dated "Madrid, January 20, 1826," these words: "In the war between Spain and the Spanish American Colonies, the United States ave freely granted to both parties the hospitality of their ports and territory, and have allowed the agents of both to procure within their jurisdiction, in the way of lawful trade, any supplies which suited their convenience." Now, gentlemen, this is the principle which humanity expects, for your own and for man-kind's benefit, to see maintained by you, and not yonder fatal course, which admits to tynot yonder fatal course, which admits to tyrants to draw from your country whatever
supply of oppression against their nations, but
forbids to nations to buy the means of defence.
That was not the principle of your Washington; when he speaks of harmony, of friendly
intercourse, and of peace, he always takes care
to speak of nations, and not of Governments—
still less of tyrants, who subdue by foreign
arms. The sacred word of nation, with all its
natural rights, should at least from your political dictionary not be blotted out; and yet I am natural rights, should at least from your political dictionary not be blotted out; and yet I am sorry to see that the word nation is replaced by the word government. Gentlemen, I humbly wish that public opinion of the people of the United States, conscious of its own rights, should highly and resolutely declare that the people of the United States will carry on trade and continue its commercial intercourse with whatever nation, be that nation in revolution serving it is oppressors or not; and that the recognized its oppressors or not; and that the recognization of the state of the serving of the state of the state of the serving of the state of the sta and continue its commercial intercourse with whatever nation, be that nation in revolution against its oppressors or not; and that the people of the United States express, with confidence, from its Government, to provide for the protection of your trade. I am confident that your National Government, seeing public opinion so pronounced, will judge it convenient to augment your naval force in the Mediterranean, and to look for some such statement for it as would not force the navy of republican America to such abrogations towards tyrants, which cannot be consistent with republican principles or republican dignity, only because the King So-so, be he even the cursed King of Naples, grants you the favor of an anchoring for the naval forces of your Republic. I believe your glorious country should everywhere freely unfurl the star-spangled banner of liberty, with all its congenial principles, and not make itself dependent on whatever respect of the glorious smiles of the Kings Bombaste Compagne. The third object of my humble wishes, gentlemen, is the recognition of the independence of Humarar. wishes, gentlemen, is the recognition of the in-dependence of Hungary. Your glorious Decla-ration of Independence proclaims the right of every nation to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God enwhich the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them. The political assistance of your glorious Republic is founded upon this principle, upon this right. My nation stands upon the same ground, and there is a striking resemblance between your cause and that of my country. On the 4th July, 1776, John Adams spoke thus in your Congress: "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I am for this declaration." In the beginning we aimed not at independence, but "there is a divinity that shapes our ends." These noble words were present to my mind on the 14th of April, 1849, when I moved the Declaration of Independence in the National Assembly of Hungary. Our condition was the same; and if there be any difference, I dare say it is in favor of ourselves. Your country was, before this declaration, not a self-consisting, independent State. Hungary was.

was.

Through the lapse of a thousand years, through every viciositude of this long period, while nations vanished and empires fell, the self-consisting independence of Hungary was never lost, but recognised by all the powers of

ed by treaties lost with the the earth, sanctioned by treaties lost with the Hapsburgh Dynasty, when this dynasty by the free will of my nation, and by a bilateral part, was invested with the kingly crown of Hungary. Even more: this independence of Hungary was acknowledged to make a part of the international law of Europe, and was gaurantied not only by the foreign European Governments, such as Great Britain, but also by soveral of those, when yet constitutional nations, which belonged formerly to the German, and, after its dissolution, to the Austrian Empire. after its dissolution, to the Austrian Empire. This independent condition of Hungary is clearly defined in one of our fundamental laws of 1791, in these words: "Hungary is a free

and independent kingdom, having its own self-consistent existence and constitution, and not subject to any other nation or country in the world." This, therefore, was our ancient right. We were not dependent from, nor a part of the Austrian Empire, as your country was depend-ent from England. It was clearly defined that we were to Austria nothing but good neighborhood, and the only tie between us and Austria was, that we elected to be our kings the same was, that we elected to be our kings the same dynasty which were also the sovereigns of Aus-tria, and occupied the same line of hereditary succession of our kings; but by accepting this our forefathers, with the consent of the king, again declared that though she accepts the dynasty to be our hereditary kings, all the other franchises, rights, and laws of the nation shall remain in full power and intact; and our country shall not be governed like the other dominions of that dynasty, but according to our constitutionally stablished authorities. We would not belong to the Austrian Empire, because that Empire did not exist, while Hungary did already nearly two years exist and existed some two hundred and eighty years under the Government of that Hapsburgian dynasty. The Austrian Empire, as you know, was only established in 1806, when the Rhenish confedcountry shall not be governed like the other established in 1806, when the Rhenish confec eracy of Napoleon struck the death blow to the German Empire, of which Francis II of Austria

was not hereditary, but elected Emperor.

That Hungary had belonged to the German Empire, that is a thing which no man ever imagined yet; it is only now when the Hapsburagned yet; it is only now when the Hapsburgian tyrant professes the intention to melt Hungary into the German Confederation. But you know this intention to be in so striking opposition to the European public law, that England and France solemnly protested against this in tention, which is not carried out even to-day. The German Empire having died, its late Emperor, Francis, also King of Hungary, has established the Austrian Empire in 1866, but even in that fundamental charter of the new established Austrian Empire he solemnly declared ver should send down a fleet to support that Hungary and its annexed provinces are the agreement of the fleet to support that Hungary and its annexed provinces are the agreement of the fleet to support that Hungary and its annexed provinces are that Hungary and Its annexed provinces

and Venice, not making part of the Austrian Empire, remained again separated, and were not entered into the Confederacy. The laws which I succeeded to carry in 1848 did, of course, nothing alter in that old chartered condition of Hungary. We transferred the peasantry into freeholders, free proprietors, abolished feudal incumbrances. We replaced the political privileges of aristocracy by the common liberty of the whole people; gave political representation to the people for the legislature; transformed our marinal formed our municipal corporations into demo-cratic corporations; introduced equality in rights and duties, and before the law, for the whole people; abolished the immunity of taxa-tion of the nobility; secured equal religious liberty to all, secured liberty of the press and of association; provided for the public gratuitous instruction for the whole people of every confession and of whatever tongue; but not in juring in any way, the rights of the King. W replaced our own aristocratical constitution by a democratic constitution, founded upon nearly universal suffrage of the whole people—of whatuniversal suffrage of the whole people—of what-ever religion, of whatever tongue. All these were, as you see, internal reforms which did in no way interfere with our allegiance to the King, and were carried lawfully in peaceful legislation, with the sanction of the King. Besides this, there was another thing which was carried. We were formerly governed by a Board of Council, which had the express duty

to govern according to sure laws, and be re-

perience that this responsibility is an empty

absolutistical tendency of the dynasty succeeded to encroach upon our liberty. So we replaced the Board of Council by Ministers; the empty responsibility of a board by the individual responsibility of men—and the King consented to it. I myself was named by him Minister of the Treasury. That is all. But precisely here was the rub. The tyrant could not bear the idea that I would not give to his ambitionary disposal the life-sweat of my people; he was not contented with the \$1.500,000 loans which we generously appropriated to him year. which we generously appropriated to him year-ly. He would have his hands in our pockets, and he could not bear the idea that he should never more be at liberty to dispose without any control of our brave army, and to crush down the spirit of freedom in the world. Therefore he resorted to the most outrageous conspiracy, and attacked us by arms, and by a false report of a victory which never was won, issued a proclama-tion declaring that Hungary shall not more exist—that its independence, its Constitution, its very existence is abolished, and it shall be melt-ed, like a farm or fold, into the Austrian Empire. To this we answered, "Thou shalt not exist, tyrant, but we will;" and we banished him, and issued the declaration of our indehim, and issued the declaration of our independence. So you see, gentlemen, that there is a very great difference between yours and ours—it is in our favor. There is another similar difference. You declared your independence when it was yet very doubtful if you would be successful. We doubted ours when we, in legitimate defence, were already victorious; when we had beaten our enemies, and so proved, before our declaration, that we had strength and power enough to become one of the independent Powers on earth. One thing more; our declaration of independence was not only voted unanimously in our Congress, but every county, every municipality, has solemnly declared its consent and adherence to it; so it became not the supposed, but by the whole realm adopted and sanctioned as the fundamental laws of Hungary. And so it is, even now. There happened since nothing contrary realm adopted and sanctioned as the fundamental laws of Hungary. And so it is, even now. There happened since nothing contrary to this declaration on the part of the nation. No contrary law, no declaration issued. Only one thing happened—a foreign Power, Russia, came with his armed bondsmen, and, aided by treason, overthrew us for a while. Now, I put the question before God and humanity to you, free, sovereign people of America, can this violation of international law abolish the legitimate character of our Declaration of Independence? If not, then, here I take my ground, because I am in this very declaration of independence intrusted with the charge of Governor of my father-land. I have sworn before God and my nation to endeavor to maintain and secure this act of independence; and so, may God the Almighty help me as I will, I will, until my nation is again in the condition to dispose of its government, which I confidently trust—yea, more, I know—will be a republican. And then I retire to the humble condition of my former private life, equalling in one tion of my former private life, equalling in one thing, at least, your Washington, not in merits, but in honesty: that is the only ambition of my life. Amen.

So my third humble wish is, that the people of the United States would be pleased, by all constitutional means of its wonted public life, declare that, acknowledging the legitimate character of the Declaration of Independence

character of the Declaration of Independence of Hungary, it is anxious to greet Hungary amongst the independent powers of the earth, and invite the Government of the United States to recognise this, independence at the earliest possible time. That is all. Let me see the principle announced; the rest may be left to the wisdom of your Government, with some confidence in my own respectful direction also. And so, gentlemen, I have respectfully stated what are my humble requests to the sovereign people of this country, in its public and political capacity. It is, that the people of the United States may be pleased, by all constitutional means, to declare tional means, to declare—

First. That, feeling interested in the

tenance of the laws of nations, acknowledging the sovereign right of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns to be one of these the sovereign right of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns to be one of these laws, and the interference with this sovereign right to be a violation of these laws of nations, the people of the United States, resolved to respect and make respected these laws, declare the Russian past intervention in Hungary to be a violation of these laws, which, if reiterated, would be a new violation, and would not be regarded indifferently by the people of the United States; that you, therefore, invite your Govern-

nent to act accordingly, and so invite Great Britain to unite with the United States ;

Britain to unite with the United States in this policy.

Second. That the people of the United States are resolved to maintain their right of commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe, whether they be in a state of revolution against their Governments or not; and that, with the view of approaching scenes on the continent of Europe, the people invite the Government to take appropriate measures for the protection of the trade of the people of the Mediterranean. And

Third. That the people of the trade of the people of the state of the people of the trade of the people of the peopl

Third. That the people of the United States Third. That the people of the United States pronounce their opinion in respect to the question of independence of Hungary, so as I had the honor to state. I hope nobody can reproach me to have done by this anything inconsistent with the high regards which I owe to the United States, or not appropriate to my capacity. I would regard it as a very judicious and beneficial thing, if those generous men who sympathize with the cause of Hungary would form committees through the different parts of the United States, with the purpose to occasion appropriate meetings to pass such occasion appropriate meetings to pass such resolutions as I had the honor humbly to such

States in its public and political capacity. And if that sympathy which I have the honor to meet with in the United States is really inmeet with in the United States is really in-tended to become beneficial to the cause of my poor native land, then there is one humble wish more which I anxiously entertain. But that is a private business; it is a respectful ap-peal to the generous feelings of individuals. Gentlemen, I would rather starve than rely for myself and family on foreign aid; but for my country's freedom I would not be ashamed to country's freedom I would not be ashamed to go a begging from door to door. [Great cheering.] Gentlemen, I mean financial aid—money to assist the cause of freedom and independence of Hungary. I took the advice of some kind friends, if it be lawful to express such a hamble request, because I feel the honorable duty neither to offend nor to evade your laws. I am told it is lawful. There are two means to see this, my humble

wish, accomplished. The first is, from spontaneous subscription, to put the offerings of kind friends at my disposal, for the benefit of my country's cause. The second is a loan. As to this loan, that is business of a more private nature, which, to be carried on in an appropriate way required to a second state. ate way, requires private consultation in a more close circle. So here I only mention that it there are such generous men who are willing to enter into the idea, provided it will be ar-ranged in an acceptable way, I would most humbly entreat them to enter into a private secondly, I express my conviction that even by the could measure of free grathitons, our scriptions, which would afford me the means necessary for the practical initiation of the loan itself. Now, as to these subscriptions. The itself. Now, as to these subscriptions. The idea was brought home to my mind by a plain but very generous letter, which I had the honor to receive, and which I beg to read. It is as

CINCINNATI, OHIO, November 14, 1851 SIR: I have authorized the office of the Ohio Sir: I have authorized the onice of the Collision Life Insurance and Trust Company, in New York, to hand you drafts on me for one thousand dollars.

Respectfully yours,

W. SMEAD.

M. Louis Kossuth, Governor of Hungary. I beg leave here publicly to return my most numble thanks to the gentleman, for his ample aid, and the delicate manner in which he fered it; and it came to my mind, that where one single individual is ready to make such sacrifices to my country's cause, there may, perhaps, be many who would give their small share to it, if they were only apprized that it will be thankfully accepted, however small it may be.
And it came to my mind, then, that drops of

millions make an ocean, and the United States number many millions of inhabitants, all at-

tached with warm feelings to the principles of liberty, agglomerated by single dollars, is even so one million of dollars, as if it were one single draft, to me yet more precious because it would practically show the sympathy of the people at large. I will consider to the gene efficial, should I be so happy to see that gene efficial, should I be so happy to see that gene rous men would form committees throughou the United States, to raise out of the free offer sound, because a corporation cannot really be responsible, and here was the reason why the absolutistical tendency of the dynasty succeedthe United States, to raise out of the free offerings of the people some material aid to assist the second course of freedom and independence of Hungary. It is a delicate matter, gentlemen, for me to speak so. It is, perhaps, one of the greatest sacrifices to my country that I do so. [Great applause.] But I love my country. [Renewed cheering.] And readily I will undergo even this torturing humiliation for her sake. Would I were so happy as your Washington was, when for your glorious country's ington was, when for your glorious country sake, in the hours of your need, he also called sake, in the hours of your need, he also called for money in France. Sir. I have done. Conscious of no personal merit, I came to your shores a poor, persecuted exile, but you poured upon me the triumph of a welcome such as the world has never yet seen; and why? Because you took me for the representative of that principle of liberty which God has destined to become the common benefit of humanity; and it is a glorious sight to see a mighty, free, and powerful people, come forth to greet with such a welcome the principle of freedom even in a poor, persecuted, penniless exile. Be blessed for it! Your generous deed will now be recorded through all posterity; and, as even now, millions of Europe's oppressed victims will raise their thauksgiving to God for the ray of hope which you, by this your act, have thrown on the dark night of their fate; even so, through all posterity, oppressed men look to your memall posterity, oppressed men look to your mem-ory as a token of God, and there is a hope for edom on earth, because there is a people like you to feel its worth and to support it

The Diario de la Marina publishes a state nent of the value of the trade of Cuba for the past year, from which it appears that the importations reached the sum of \$28,983,227, and the exportations, \$25,631,948, making the total mounts over fifty-four millions of dollars. The mportations of 1850 exceeded those of 1849 by 10 per cent., and the exportations by 14 per cent The trade with each country was as follows: Imports. Exports.

Spain - - - - \$8,640.625.00 \$3,071,084.00

nited S	au	BB.	-			6.653	.360	).0	0	×.	359	1.25	2.00
reach -						1.747	.580	1.1	84	1.	862	.59	6.187
nglish			-90		. 1	3,117	669	.3	71	7	061	.05	6.931
panish /	4m	eri	car			2,001				-	578	,23	7.68
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alian -		*				13	.297	.11	83		572	,28	6.00
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rench					6.61		ssin			-			0.82
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The increase of trade with the United States in one year has been over two millions of dol-lars. In 1849 the total value of the trade with

lars. In 1849 the total value of the trade with the United States was \$12,879,552; in 1850, \$15,012,613. The United States now, for the first time, take precedence of every other country having intercourse with the Island of Cuba.

The Island of Cuba exports the greater portion of its products, and imports a large share of what it consumes—in fact, all except necessaries. This circumstance is calculated to convey the idea of far greater wealth than really exists. Twenty-eight millions of imports and a like value of exports, from an Island not larger than one of our States, would seem to be immerce of a country stituated like our own, in which, perhaps, nineteen twentieths of the consumption is produced at home. But if we recognise the existence of the immense internal commerce of the United States, and the fact that our people live within themselves, the that our people live within themselves, the rague notion of untold wealth which attaches to mere plantations like Cuba, is seen to be fallacious. We have not now before us the necessary statistics to make accurate comparisons, but our recollection warrants the statement that the manufactures of Lowell, or of Pittaburg, exceed the value of exports from the Island of Cuba. But these manufactures are for the most part consumed at home, and are taken no account of in the commercial statistics of the country.

statistics of the country.

The exports of the United States amount